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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to explore three questions: (1) Do students of different cultures react differently to actions teachers use in their efforts to maintain classroom control? (2) To what extent do these students' behaviors fit the general patterns identified for their cultural groups? and (3) Do students who do not share the dominant school culture have a more negative attitude about their class than students whose home culture is similar to that of the teacher and the majority of students? The study was limited to interactions involving handraising and the maintenance of silence. A third-grade, urban classroom provided the setting for the study. Twenty-three students were the subjects: seven white, seven Hispanic, and nine black. The teacher was a white male. Interviews were conducted with students, the classroom was observed, and students responded to a questionnaire on their opinions of the class. According to observed student reactions, children from all three cultures obeyed the teacher in most cases. Some variation was observed in the amount of interaction across cultures: Hispanics interacted the least often, and blacks the most often. Black and white children interacted with the teacher more than twice as often as Hispanic children. The observations did not produce the kinds of incidents expected from reviewing literature on general behavior patterns of the three different culture groups. The students who did not share the dominant school culture did not have more negative attitudes than the other students. Suggestions are made for replicating the study with recommended modifications. (JD)

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TEACHER-STUDENT COMMUNICATION IN A MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM

by Susan M. Smith

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TEACHER-STUDENT COMMUNICATION IN A MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOM

Communication is a vital element in a classroom. It helps create a classroom atmosphere that either encourages or hinders student learning. Further, communication has many forms and purposes. Teachers communicate as they talk and teach. A book communicates as it is read. Students answer or ask questions of the teacher and other students. Yet, all of these only begin to scratch the surface of what the communication process involves. Other important aspects are nonverbal--ideas and feelings that are communicated without words.

Researchers, interested in understanding what happens in classrooms, have often studied verbal interaction. More recently, some have also turned their attention to nonverbal communication. They have tried to identify nonverbal communication patterns in order to help teachers use them more effectively.

Meanwhile, other researchers have been examining different cultures to see how they communicate. Interestingly, there is considerable variation from culture to culture in the use of both nonverbal and verbal

communication. Questions are now being raised as to how these differences affect, or should be used in, classrooms.

Statement of Purpose

Numerous articles provide information and advice about cultural differences and their implications for classroom practices. Often researchers argue that current classroom practices do not allow for cultural differences. For example, many teachers and administrators believe that children must raise their hands and be recognized before speaking in order to maintain discipline and order which facilitate learning. Further, they maintain that silence, i.e., lack of noise, socializing, and excessive movement, is the best environment for learning.

Reports of research, reviewed later in this paper, suggest that these assumptions about necessary learning environments result from experiences and socialization in the dominant, White, Anglo cultural group in the United States; other groups do not necessarily share these experiences. As a result, children of some minority ethnic/cultural groups are faced with conflicting settings and expectations at home and at school. These conflicts are assumed to negatively affect the children's attitudes about school and their achievement.

A frequently related conclusion of some researchers is that most teachers do not recognize that different cultures

expect different behavior from their children. Using data collected in homes or other out-of-school settings, implications for classroom practices have been drawn, especially with respect to problems that arise as teachers misread culturally-different children's behavior.

In general, there is little evidence from classroom settings to support claims and beliefs of either the researchers or the teachers and administrators. Little research addresses the extent of cultural conflict or how it affects students' attitudes about school. Consequently, the present study provides data concerning two aspects of classroom control (hand-raising and maintenance of silence) in order to identify (a) apparent differences, not only in the behavior of children of various cultural backgrounds, but also in student-teacher interactions, (b) differences in the attitudes of culturally different groups of students toward the class, and (c) relationships between the behavior and attitudes of students of the various cultural groups.

Live classroom observations of teacher and student actions and reactions in one multicultural classroom constitute the primary source of data for these purposes. After these were completed, a student survey (for the whole class) was administered, and interviews (with some students and the teacher) were conducted to determine attitudes about the class. When all of the data were collected, the

attitudes and observed behavior of the cultural groups were then analyzed in relation to one another.

In summary, this project is designed to explore these questions:

1. Do students of different cultures react differently to actions teachers use in their efforts to maintain classroom control in a multicultural classroom?

2. How do the behaviors frequently recorded during the observations compare with those noted in the literature? In other words, to what extent do these students' behavior fit the general patterns identified for their cultural groups?

3. Do students who do not share the dominant school culture have a more negative attitude about their class than students whose home culture is similar to that of the teacher and majority students?

Limitations of the Study

This project is based on a number of assumptions: (a) that different student reactions are evident in a multicultural classroom; (b) that these are measurable and/or describable; (c) that differences vary more from culture to culture than within each group; (d) that teachers and students influence each other as they interact; and (e) that these interactions affect how the students feel about the class.

A multicultural class, for this study, is defined as any elementary classroom in which students represent more than one culture. Cultures, sets of values and beliefs that a child learns at home, represented in this study include Black, White and Hispanic.

During class, some undesired student actions may be ignored by teachers, while they react to others. Consequently, classroom management incidents to be studied in this project have been limited to teacher-defined ones, that is, those times when the teacher chooses to react to some student behavior. Further, this study is limited to those management interactions, positive and negative, which involve the use of hand-raising or the maintenance of one classroom conditions--silence.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

One of the major processes in education is communication--the transmission of information, knowledge, ideas, or feelings from one person to others. This complex process involves many variables, not the least of which is that "communication resides not within persons but in relations between them. One person alone cannot communicate" (LaFrance and Mayo, 1978).

Ordinary communication problems can be magnified and complicated in multiethnic situations (Madluck, 1979), since each person reads cues from his/her own cultural perspective. For some time, researchers have studied the complex communication process which involves the spoken word, as well as nonverbal gestures, tones, habits, and attitudes. These nonverbal components can vary as much as the words do. Although the important verbal component has received considerable research attention,[1] researchers have just recently begun to study nonverbal communication. As yet, little work includes both verbal and nonverbal components in the same study.

Grove (1976), in comparing verbal and nonverbal elements, states that both use systematic patterns whose meanings are generally accepted by those who use them; involve symbols and rules which differ between geographic

and/or cultural areas; and must be learned by the young. On the other hand, Grove acknowledges that verbal language learning is conscious, while nonverbal language learning is often unconscious, i.e., occurs and is understood in the "out-of-awareness" realm. Further, nonverbal communication is used more for affective matters, while verbal communication focuses most often on cognitive ones.

Mehrabian and Fereis' study (1967) showed that facial expressions carry more weight than vocal communication when information is given through both channels. Duncan and Rosenthal (1968) found that paralinguistics[2] is also an important communicating factor. In fact, in a study of tutorial situations, Chaikin, Sigler, and Derlega (1974) indicate that, although the tutor used about the same words to describe each student, her expectations for them were communicated through nonverbal means. In other words, in a classroom where the teacher is not familiar with the various cultural norms of his/her students, nonverbal communication cues may well be misread. The teacher may unknowingly be sending negative signals even when s/he uses positive words.

In considering communication and how it varies across cultures, this chapter first identifies some general communication-related cultural characteristics cited in the literature. Implications of these characteristics for behavior and attitudes in the classroom are then summarized. While different cultures and ethnic groups vary in the kinds

of communication processes they use, any discussion of general cultural characteristics necessarily involves stereotypes. There is as much or more variation between individuals within a culture as there is among groups (e.g., women) and cultures (Eckman, 1977). Nonetheless, stereotypes are valuable and need not be negative.

> This typifying procedure is one of our major means of organizing life, of making it predictable and comfortable. . . . There is a wide range of modes of typing, depending upon how personal or impersonal we are willing to be with individuals as we encounter them. (Abrahams, 1972, p. 21)

Abrahams continues to explain that features of appearance or life style help each person develop types which s/he then uses, consciously and unconsciously, to guide his/her actions and reactions in dealing with others. Consequently, any traits discussed in this paper must be viewed with this typing process in mind. Not every individual from the ethnic/cultural groups being discussed will fit the group patterns.

Since this study involves an urban classroom in Pennsylvania, the researcher has limited discussion of cultural characteristics to those groups that are likely to be attending school in that area, i.e., Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics. Research with Amerindians, Chinese, and others fall outside the scope of this work.

Communication Characteristics

How does one person (or a class) show s/he is listening? Few stop to think of how they know someone else is paying attention. The information comes as people unconsciously pick up the predominantly nonverbal cues. They cannot be sure, however, that their interpretations of another's actions are correct, since the "entire process of being an interlocutor in a conversation is highly stereotyped, culturally patterned, and regulated by rules that are seldom, if ever, spelled out" (Hall, 1969, p. 379).

Gay (1975), discussing a classroom situation, has outlined listening strategies as follows:

> Black children learn to speak for the reaction and approval of the group, not merely to communicate content. They expect listeners to play active participatory and motivational roles in speech events and to signal their involvement with overt responses, both verbal and nonverbal. When Black children are motivated by what their teachers have to say, their inclination is to 'talk back.' (p. 32)

She notes, however, that this causes conflict, since teachers "are oriented to the view that words are capable of conveying all intended meaning and any other behaviors in the speech act are unnecessary distractors to effective communication" (p. 32). Gay and Abrahams (1972) even contend that, for Blacks, "complete silence is a sure sign of boredom" (p.77).

Hall (1969), in an article that considers person-to-person interaction, describes the general characteristics of Black listening patters in this way:

> Basically the informal rule for Black culture goes somewhat as follows: If you are in the room with another person or in a context where he has ready access to you, there are times when there is no need to go through the motions of showing him you are listening because that is automatically implied. (p. 380)

When the descriptions provided by Gay and Hall are compared, they seem to indicate that attending requires different actions, depending on the situation and the number of people involved.

Another aspect of listening/speaking interactions involves eye contact. Knapp (1971) notes that eye contact occurs "when we want to signal that the communication channel is open" (p. 246). For example, non-eye contact might mean a student does not know the answer to a question. Eye contact is also used "following the end of an utterance, particularly when we are seeking feedback on how the utterance was received" (Knapp, 1971, p. 246). Although Knapp does not specifically refer to any group, his work seems to fit Whites more than other groups.

Along similar lines, LaFrance and Mayo (1978) have studied the use of gaze direction in dyadic communication. These researchers concur with Knapp's characteristics of Whites, but they indicate that Blacks use gaze direction differently. They report that Blacks do not use eye contact to signal that they have finished speaking. Rather, they

tend to use it while speaking. In addition, Blacks do not direct their gaze at another to indicate attention while listening.

For Whites, the opposite occurs. That is, they usually use other-directed gaze while listening and look away while speaking. When there is interracial interaction, each person tends to use his/her own frame of reference. Consequently, Blacks may feel improperly scrutinized, while Whites feel they are being ignored.

Cultural groups also use eye contact in other ways. Townsend and Zamora (1975) and Grove (1976) have reported that, in many Hispanic cultures, the children, when being disciplined, demonstrate respect by staring at the floor. American children, on the other hand, are expected to look the disciplining adult in the eye. Hall (1969) reports that Black, as well as Hispanic children, are expected to look downward as a sign of respect, especially when questioned. Further, he reports that adults (parents) look at a child when punishing him/her; with direct contact, the adult's eyes become large, and the child knows the adult is angry. In addition, direct questions occur most often when an adult is angry with a child (Gay and Abrahams, 1972). The Black child, then, may well interpret a teacher's actions, verbal and nonverbal, as anger, even if that is not the message the teacher believes s/he is sending.

Other misunderstandings and miscommunications can also result from reading cues from one's own cultural perspective. For example, in Texas, Blacks use "speaking" to mean person-to-person discussion, while "talking" generally involves a larger group. Consequently, much to a teacher's surprise, giving a student permission to "speak" may mean that the student goes across the room to interact with another student (Gay and Abrahams, 1972).

"Noise" and "sound" are also differentiated by Blacks. Using their usual classroom attending characteristics, Black children will naturally talk to each other or the teacher, move around in their seats, or produce other "sound" that indicates they are listening and involved in the lesson. On the other hand, "noise" in a classroom interferes with the lesson. While "noise" and "sound" may involve the same types of actions, e.g., talking among students, the quality is different. "Noise" may exist in any classroom despite the cultural backgrounds of the students; "sound" is specific to rooms with a large number of Black children.

Gay (1975), Gay and Abrahams (1972), and Felton (1978) have discussed how this noise/sound difference affects the classroom. Felton argues that problems arise in a multiethnic class because

> teachers do not make a distinction between 'sound' and 'noise' in the classroom. This distinction is most important because there exists an audible environmental 'sound' in a class composed largely or totally of Black students. Such 'sound' has clearly definable roots and antecedents and differs in volume and quality from that

> found in a comparable class with no Black students. It occurs regardless of ethnicity, age, or sex of class, instructor, level or education, or style of teaching. (back cover)

Felton maintains that the "sound" does not interfere with the learning process. Teachers, on the other hand, tend to assume that "sound" indicates socializing or lack of attention, which they feel cannot be effectively combined with work (Gay and Abrahams, 1972). For this reason, group work is often avoided.

Group work, however, stresses cooperation which is integral, not only in Black socializing patterns, but also in Hispanic ones. Black children learn most often from their peers in such a way that "teacher" and "student" roles are frequently shifted. Outside of school, they tend to be mutually supportive in work tasks (Gay 1975). Hispanics, too, value group-mindedness and cooperation; group success is valued more than individual success (Bryant and Meadon, 1976; Cortex, 1981). Again, conflict often results since schools usually value competition and individual work. Helping another, especially on a test, is most likely to be condemned as cheating by the teacher, while Black or Hispanic students would probably see it as cooperating and helping a friend (Gay and Abrahams, 1972).

The first norms and behavioral expectations that guide children's actions are learned at home. Later, as children enter school, the teacher is instrumental in communicating

classroom procedures and behavioral expectations that are acceptable at school. These can conflict with the cultural norms that were learned at home. In general, the education system fails

> to understand that there is a perceptible life-pattern shared by these [Black] children, and it is one which has already bestowed high level of responsibility upon most of them by the time they reach school age. The teacher, going on her middle-class assumptions, treats the Black child as she would the White, as if the pre-school period had been one of idyllic freedom in which only a minimal amount of responsibility had been taught. Imagine the frustration encountered in this situation by one who has been caring for younger children for years. This frustration, furthermore, is compounded, for just at the time when the Black child is entering upon a time of freedom at home, at school he is told that he is finally being expected to shoulder some social responsibilities. (Gay and Abrahams, 1972, p. 75)

In order to maintain control and order, the teacher often insists that students raise their hands before speaking and ask permission before leaving their seats for any reason. These methods do not allow students to take any responsibility. The change for Black children, whose home expectations are very different, can result in frustration.

The Hispanic community communicates to its children that responsibility is closely tied to honor and authority. Children are responsible for the defense and protection of the family's honor. This clashes with school norms which are primarily individual-oriented. Consequently, "the Anglo teaching strategy or singling out an individual student within a group for public feedback as to the correctness of

an answer may publically insult the Mexican-American honor" (Bryant and Meadon, 1976, p. 144).

In summary, numerous communication differences have been identified by studies which have dealt with cultural groups, but which have made few specific references to schooling. Nonetheless, verbal and nonverbal components are evident in the communication in every classroom. More attention is now being directed to school settings, as educational researchers examine what happens within multicultural classrooms in order to make recommendations to teachers. However, many of the claims and implications are drawn from the body of literature that is not school specific. The works reviewed next are those that attempt to define how the general knowledge can explain problems within schools.

Communication Differences in Classroom Settings

Among those who have studied why children have problems at school, there are many who consider influences from outside the school. Loasa (1977), Gay (1975), Worden (1981), and Madluck (1979) have looked at outside influences in a multicultural context. They all agree that each child brings a set of values and expectations with him/her to school. Madluck, for example, details three sets of behavior and discourse rules that exist within the

educational system: the child's, the teacher's, and the school's.

The child's view reflects his/her socialization and level of maturation. S/he operates using the same behavior and linguistic rules s/he learned at home. The school "attempts to transmit the cultural heritage in the form of certain basic social values and practices in the 'correct' usage of a national language" (Madluck, 1979, p. 188). The teacher also brings his/her socially conditioned ways of behaving. Through these, "a) she interprets her role as a teacher and the goals of the school, and b) she accepts, rejects, or attempts to modify the behavior of the children" (p. 188). Generally, teachers represent the dominant cultural group, which, in the United States, is Anglo middle class.

Within the educational system, these three sets of rules are constantly interacting. When they are similar, few problems result. Conversely, problems do occur when there is a mismatch. Often, in the United States, the teacher and the school

> represent a different social class (not economic, since relative prosperity is not necessarily a determining factor) and espouse different social values and practices and a different linguistic repertoire than those of the children in attendance. (Madluck, 1979, p. 188)

In the literature, numerous examples, some of which have been mentioned previously, demonstrate the results of this situation. Students read anger into teacher's nonverbal cues (Hall, 1969); students are thought to be cheating or not working well if there is too much "noise" (Gay and Abrahams, 1972); and, even when verbal interactions are the same, teacher nonverbal differences may show preference to some students (Chaikin et al., 1974). Further, Gay and Abrahams (1972) argue:

> The tendency of school to try to shield students from the stark realities of life only serve to make school experiences appear like unreal fantasies to Black youth. The result is that the student perceives the teacher as engaged in a perpetual game of make-believe!. . .He strikes out against it. . .the teacher, greatly threatened, interprets this behavior as disrespect. (p. 80)

Other results may be:

1. The school/home behavioral norms mismatch indirectly tells the children that their way of doing things is wrong. They may refuse to work as a shield against criticism and hurt (Abrahams and Gay, 1972).

2. More minority (and male) students may be referred to the office and/or a multidisciplinary team (Lietz and Gregory, 1978).

3. More disruptive behavior may result (Snider, 1979).[3]

4. Feedback from teachers and others may affect subsequent performance of children since people respond

differently to praise and criticism (Garza and Lipton, 1978).

5. "Obviously a Chicano or Puerto Rican child in a traditional middle class school receives incongruous material which interrupts his natural desire to learn" (Jaramillo, 1973, p. 14).

6. Factors such as communication and learning styles, relational patterns, and cultural value systems "influence the kind of interactions that occur between students and teachers from different ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds, and largely determine the effectiveness of ethnically different students' adjustment to and performance in schools" (Gay, 1978, p. 46).

7. Confronted with different behavior, teachers may be baffled or intimidated. This may result in misjudging cognitive abilities and attitudes toward learning (Gay, 1975).

8. "Many teachers have great difficulty accepting Black students as normal students whose learning behavior, learning modes and behavior-learning modes often differ from non-Black students." Consequently, the classroom atmosphere encourages "resentment, rebellion, refusal to learn, and ultimately dropping out" (Felton, 1978, back cover).

Some researchers go beyond discussing consequences of the current situations to suggest ways to use this information to improve classroom conditions. Rodriguez

(1979) discusses various methods by which monolingual and monocultural teachers can adapt teaching methods. These include use of positive nonverbal indicators, personalization, encouragement of cooperation, and cultural highlighting. In contrast, Knapp (1971) and Hodge (1971) suggest eye contact uses that ignore cultural differences. Knapp says that eye contact can psychologically reduce distances and indicate aggressiveness, while avoidance may be an insulation against threats or discovery. Hodge, in a more detailed discussion, recommends the use of eye contact for interpersonal communication, personalizing communication, classroom management, showing awareness of what is happening, motivation of students, and pre-discipline (preventing discipline problems).

In all, there are some studies which offer implications and suggestions for teachers of multicultural classes. These suggestions are based on limited research, most of which was not done within educational settings. Classroom evidence is needed to determine the extent to which claims and recommendations are justified. This study examines one multicultural classroom in light of a few of the claims made about cultural differences in communication.

METHODOLOGY

Through systematic observation of one multicultural classroom, a student survey, and interviews with selected students and the teacher, I obtained data relevant to the claims and assumptions made in the literature regarding cultural differences in the classroom. Teachers commonly believe that discipline and order are maintained, in part, through silence and procedures such as hand-raising. While multicultural researchers do not disagree with the need for discipline and order, they maintain that different cultures define these differently. They argue that students whose home cultures do not closely match the predominant school culture will face conflict that adversely affects their attitudes about learning and their class.

The following research questions were explored in this study:

1. Do students of different cultures react differently to actions teachers use in their efforts to maintain classroom control in a multicultural classroom?

2. How do the behaviors frequently recorded during the observations compare with those noted in the literature? In other words, to what extent do these students' behaviors fit the general patterns identified for their cultural groups?

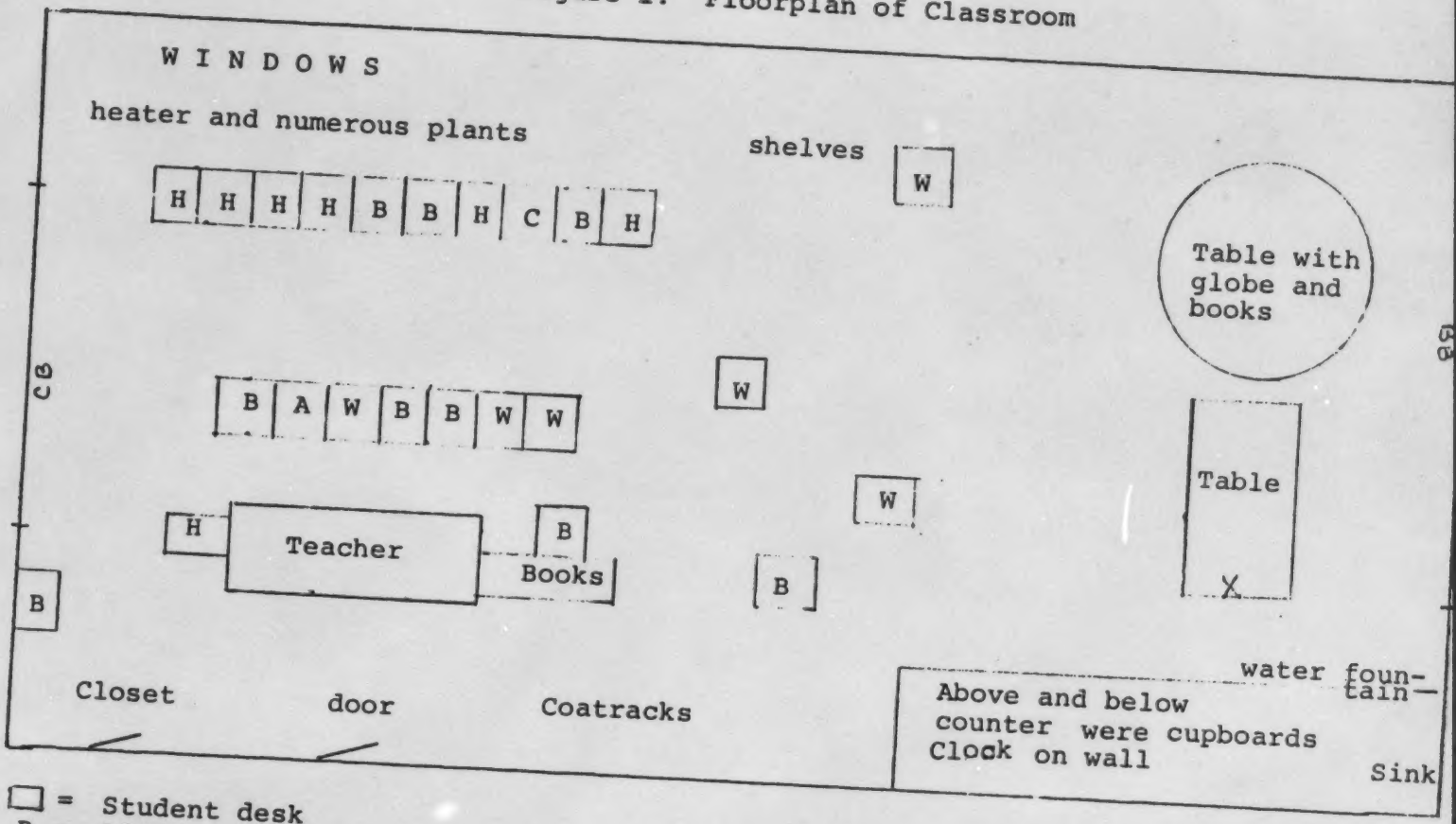
3. Do students who do not share the dominant school culture have a more negative attitude about their class than students whose home culture is similar to that of the teacher and majority students?

The Setting

A third-grade, urban, multicultural classroom provided the setting for this study. Third grade was chosen because the students "have had at least some experience with elementary school, yet they are young enough that familial and cultural influences on their school behavior can be viewed as relatively independent of such experiences" (Harvey, 1980, p. 285).

The third-grade classroom was located in a public school of a medium-size city (population about 70,000). The district's enrollment was about 9,850 students overall, with 5,000 at the elementary level. The classroom observed was one of four third-grades in a building which housed 536 students (in eighteen regular classrooms, six special education rooms, and one Hispanic resource room). Figure I shows a floor plan of the room, including where the children (identified by culture) sat. The children sat in the same places every day, although the seating arrangement changed regularly; the teacher indicated that he changed the pattern every four to six weeks.

Figure 1: Floorplan of Classroom



□ = Student desk
B = Black student
W = White student
H = Hispanic student
C = Cambodian student
A = Student absent during all of study

BB = bulletin board
CB = Chalkboard
X = Observer

The class consisted of twenty-five students: seven White, seven Spanish-Surname (Hispanic), ten Black, and one Cambodian. One Black child, however, had had a sledding accident and was absent the entire time of the study. Also, the lone Cambodian student was not included in the study. Of the seven Hispanics, four spoke Spanish in the home. Judging from the interactions during the observations, two of the four Spanish speakers also spoke English well; one had understood much of what was happening although he spoke little and seemed to prefer using Spanish when possible; and one seemed to have little grasp of English. (The teacher believed that this student should not have been in the class because of his lack of English and the fact that he might have had a learning disability as well. He stayed, but participated little in classroom activities.)

Twenty-three students were observed: seven White, seven Hispanic, and nine Black. Some of these students were involved in special programs. One spent the morning in a special class, and others left for shorter periods to participate in a Basic Skills Program. These programs did not disrupt the regular classwork, as those involved knew when and where to go and what to do when they returned. In addition, when the teacher gave directions for independent (seat) work during their absence, he assigned someone to give each Basic Skills person the directions when s/he returned.

The teacher was White, male, and in his thirties. He had been teaching in the same school and at the same grade level for several years. He explained that some of the activities were different during the observation week since the Science Fair was to be held the following week. Consequently, the students were doing more independent work so that the teacher could help students with their individual science projects.

Classroom activities, in general, were teacher-controlled. That is, the teacher monitored the whole class continuously, in all settings. As he worked with the whole group, everyone was to pay attention. When he worked with a reading group, students involved did not leave their seats (which were scattered around the room). They got out their books and materials and worked with the teacher, while other students (who also remained in their seats), completed their individual seat work. This procedure allowed the teacher to monitor the whole class as he worked with a small group. During independent work, the teacher was usually sitting at his desk helping one student at a time. He frequently looked around to check how well other students were (or were not) working.

Classroom Observation

Initial classroom observation provided background information, including the cultures of the students and

teacher and the arrangement of the room (See Figure I). During these two to three hours of observation, the observer also learned the students' names and basic classroom procedures. In addition, the initial observation time allowed time for the students and teacher to adjust to the observer's presence.

After the initial orientation period, six hours of systematic observation of classroom activities were conducted on different days at at different times during the day. Since special subjects (art, music, and gym) were all scheduled from 2:30 until the end of the school day, observations were made between 9:10 and 2:30. The exact length of each session was determined by the classroom schedule. The approximate time of each session was one to two hours. During this time, the observer used an observation instrument developed for this study (see Appendix A). The observation record sheets included information about the culture(s) of those involved in each classroom management incident, the setting (whole class, small group, or individual), and the teacher-student interactions. The classroom management interactions were recorded anecdotally beginning with who or what initiated each incident. A list of possible actions/reactions was compiled to alert the observer to student and teacher verbal and nonverbal actions, both positive and negative (see Appendix B). Although information about the setting was

gathered, it was not used in the analysis because of this teacher's procedure (described earlier) which made it difficult to clearly distinguish small and whole group settings.

Student Survey and Interviews

Data about student attitudes was obtained by means of a survey and interviews. The survey (see Appendix C), adapted from Moos (1978), includes thirty randomly-ordered statements that compose three ten-item scales:

1. Involvement: The extent to which students are attentive and interested in class activities and participate in discussions;

2. Affiliation: Student friendship and the extent to which students help each other and enjoy working together; and

3. Teacher Support: Help, interest, trust, and friendship the teacher shows toward students.

The directions and statements were read orally to the whole class while the teacher was not present in the room. Students had answer sheets on which they circled "yes" for true statements and "no" for false ones. Administration of the survey took about fifteen minutes.

A seating chart, made during the observation period and marked with the students' names and cultures, was used to number the answer sheets in advance. Later, the researcher

coded the answer sheets by culture in order to find the mean positive score for each scale for each cultural group.

Follow-up interviews (see Appendix D), conducted with a stratified random sample of students representing the class composition, included questions that allowed the child to provide explanations and examples. The resulting data helped the researcher determine how the students interpreted the survey statements, and provided additional information about the classroom interactions.

Teacher Interview

The interest of this study was student reactions and attitudes. While teacher actions are necessary to analyze student reactions, the teacher is not the focus. During the first meeting, I carefully explained this point to the teacher; however, a full explanation of the project could have prejudiced the teacher's actions. Consequently, the initial discussion centered on collecting data about classroom behaviors of students from different cultures. After the initial observations, I had hoped to present more complete information through a structured interview (see Appendix E). The interview was also to provide the teacher a chance to express his feelings and reactions about what happened in the class. However, on the last day of the study, there was a snowstorm which caused the teacher and some of the students to be absent. Therefore, the final

teacher interview was not held. Several weeks later, I sent preliminary results to the teacher. To date, he has not sent a response.

Pilot Studies

The observation system was piloted in two multicultural classrooms. In the first trial, the researcher entered a third- to fifth-grade classroom at a campus school. The first part of the pilot study there included classroom observations to determine a) if the record sheet could adequately reflect the types of classroom management incidents seen in the room; and b) if the whole class could be observed at once or if a sample should be chosen.

From the beginning, I recognized that the school was not a typical or traditional school and that the results from the pilot would not necessarily reflect the type of results that would come from a public school classroom which would be used in the actual study. However, I realized that the class presented another unexpected problem. The study was designed to record classroom management incidents related to hand-raising and maintenance of silence. This teacher, however, rarely used hand-raising as a means of organizing and running the class. Consequently, part of the record sheet was invalid for this type of class. While incidents related to maintaining silence could be recorded,

this pilot was inadequate to determine the serviceability of the total record sheet.

Despite this major problem, the classroom observations at this school were useful to a certain extent. First, they gave me time to become more familiar with the record sheet. Second, they enabled me to judge that the whole class could be effectively observed at one time. During the observations, there was time to record each incident completely before the next one occurred. (Previously, there had been a question as to the feasibility of watching the whole class, despite the fact that only teacher-defined management incidents were to be recorded.)

The next steps of the pilot study, involving the survey of student opinions, were more successful. As the survey statements were read to the class, I monitored which ones the students did not understand, or had questions about. There were several. Later, during some student interviews, student interpretations and definitions of some of the words used in the survey were collected. Using this data, some survey statements were modified.

Faced with the ineffective trial of the record sheet, I sought a second classroom in which to pilot this instrument. Permission was granted in a local parochial school that had a multicultural student population. Observations in this more traditional classroom showed that the record sheet could be used effectively and that incidents of management

concerning both hand-raising and maintenance of silence occurred on a regular basis. After several hours of observations, the teacher agreed to allow me to re-test the modified survey statements. Considering the results of this trial, no further modification seemed necessary. Once the pilot studies were completed, the actual study began. The next section outlines the results of that work.

RESULTS

Classroom Observations

During the observation period, 290 incidents related to classroom management techniques, specifically the use of hand-raising and the maintenance of silence, were recorded. These fell into three basic categories:

a) the student raised his/her hand whereupon the teacher acknowledged the student who answered or asked a question;

b) The student called out, the teacher acknowledged the student as if s/he had raised his/her hand, and the student responded;

c) teacher-student management interactions, including incidents related to hand-raising and maintenance of silence.

Table 1 presents the overall breakdown of incidents by culture, while Table 2 shows the adjusted percentages of incidents per culture. (Percentages were adjusted to allow comparison across the three cultural groups.)

The majority of incidents observed occurred during question and answer sessions between the teacher and students. Table 1 indicates that in 54 percent of these incidents children raised their hands and were called on.

Table 1

Number and Percent of Incidents Observed by Culture

Type of Incident	Black (N=9)		White (N=7)		Hispanic (N=7)		All		Mixed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Management Interactions	18	6	18	6	4	1	13	4	4	1	57	20
Hands Raised	80	28	53	18	25	9	--		--		158	54
Call Out	42	14	22	8	11	4	--		--		75	26
Total	140	48	93	32	40	14	13	4	4	1	290	100

* All = times when the teacher addressed the whole class

** Mixed = incidents in which students from two or more cultures were involved.

In 26 percent of the incidents, however, the teacher recognized students who called out without raising their hands. The other interactions resulted from a variety of positive and negative hand-raising-related situations. The frequency of types of incidents are detailed in Appendix F. Since there were so few of each, valid interpretation is difficult.

Interestingly, while the type of behavior that initiated hand-raising incidents varied, the few (6.5 percent of the total 290) related to the maintenance of silence were all negative resulting from students talking, singly or together. Although Appendix F also shows the breakdown by culture, the frequency of incidents in each category is limited to such an extent that conclusions can not be safety drawn. The absence of any Hispanic involvement in these incidents, however, should be noted.

Looking at the adjusted percentages in Table 2, the most striking observation is that large difference between incidents involving Hispanics and those for the other two groups. Differences between Blacks (43 percent) and Whites (36 percent) seem to represent more similarities between these groups than differences, while the Hispanics, at 16 percent, are set far apart. Appendix G, which details the average number of incidents per student by culture, reinforces this observation.

Table 2

Adjusted Percentages of Observed Incidents by Culture

Type of Incident	Black	White	Hispanic	All	Mixed
Interactions	27.5	35	7.5	22	7
Hands Raised	44	38	18	--	--
Call Out	50	33	17	--	--
Totals	43	36	16	4	1

A major difficulty encountered during the observations concerned recording nonverbal behaviors of the teacher and students. Despite the fact that I was aware of possible nonverbal actions and reactions, often it was not possible to catch these during the lessons. This may have been due, in part, to my distance from the observed incidents. Although I was positioned so as to be able to see faces of students and teacher, some interactions occurred on the opposite side of the room, diminishing visibility. In addition, the teacher did not always teach from the front which meant that sometimes the student's heads were turned away from my view.

A break-down of student reactions (Appendix H) indicates that in the majority of interactions (68 percent) students obeyed, doing what the teacher requested. The other reactions were scattered, yielding no consistent patterns.

Student Survey and Interviews

On the final day of the study, there was a snowstorm in the area. Although school was not cancelled, some students and the teacher did not attend. Consequently, fifteen students (six Black, five White, and four Hispanic) answered the survey instead of the twenty-three who were observed.

I read the thirty statements to the students who circled "yes" if the statement was true about their class

and "no" if it was not. Later, the positive score was calculated for each student. Table 3 lists the mean positive scores for each culture and for the class. For the overall survey (i.e., all thirty statements) there is no significant difference among cultures. There is some variation in the subsection means, but comparing positive mean scores across cultures yields no significant difference for either Involvement or Affiliation. The only difference that shows statistical significance is the Teacher Support subsection. Here the Black students' scores were lower than those of Whites and Hispanics. (There was no significant difference between the latter two groups.) Table 4 summarized the F-test results.

Interviews were conducted with a randomly-selected group of students. Because of the inclement weather, not all of the first choices on the random list were present to be interviewed. Since I did not know (on the day of the interviews) how many students were absent, I decided to interview the predetermined number of children. Therefore, interviews were conducted with three Black, two White, and two Hispanic children. Both Hispanics I talked with spoke Spanish at home. One had excellent English; the other felt more comfortable in Spanish, although he seemed to understand most of what was said in English. As this interview began, I asked the child (in English and in Spanish) which language he preferred to use. He chose

Table 3

Survey of Student Opinion, Mean Positive Scores

	Blacks N = 6	Whites N = 5	Hispanics N = 4	Total N = 15
Overall	11.50	13.80	13.75	12.87
Involvement	3.67	2.60	3.50	3.27
Affiliation	4.67	5.60	5.00	5.07
Teacher Support	2.83	5.60	5.25	4.40

Table 4

Analysis of Variance of Student Opinion Survey

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F*
Overall				
Between Cultures	18.68	2	9.34	0.3189
Within Groups	89.05	12	7.42	
Total	107.73	14		
Involvement				
Between cultures	3.40	2	1.70	0.4149
Within groups	21.53	12	1.79	
Total	24.93	14		
Affiliation				
Between cultures	2.40	2	1.20	0.6959
Within Groups	33.58	12	3.21	
Total	40.93	14		
Teacher Support				
Between cultures	24.82	2	12.41	0.0453
Within groups	36.78	12	3.06	
Total	61.60	14		

* $p < .05$

Spanish, so the rest of the interview was held in that language.

Information provided by the interviews was generally consistent with the survey data. That is, when students marked "yes" for survey statements, they usually also gave positive answers for the corresponding interview questions. The students also provided further explanation, including examples, of what happened in their class. For instance, they listed types of activities students engaged in when not paying attention and evidence they saw as to whether students got along well.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

People who have been writing in the field of multicultural education contend that students whose home cultures do not closely match the predominant school culture will face conflict that adversely affects their attitudes about learning and their class. In this study, the researcher tested this assumption in one elementary classroom by examining the following three questions.

1. Do students of different cultures react differently to actions teachers use in their efforts to maintain classroom control in a multicultural classroom? According to observed student reactions, the children from all three cultures obeyed the teacher in most all cases. Knowing the culture of a child did not make it possible to predict how s/he would react. There was some variation, on the other hand, in the amount of interactions across cultures. Hispanics were involved (positively and negatively) the least often, Blacks the most often, and Whites fell in-between. In addition, Black and White children interacted with the teacher more than twice as often as Hispanic children did.

2. How do the behaviors frequently recorded during

the observations compare with those noted in the literature? In other words, to what extent do these students' behaviors fit he general patterns identified for their cultural groups? While there is some variation, in general, the observations did not produce the kinds of incidents expected from the literature review. For example, the literature suggests that Black children who often have more responsibilities at home at an early age, have difficulties adapting or interacting in a class where they have little responsibility and must raise their hands before speaking or acting. Black children in the third-grade classroom observed, however, were the ones most frequently involved in interactions where they raised their hands and were called on. White students (as anticipated) also were involved in similar incidents, but not as often as the Blacks.

Along the same lines, more Black students called and were acknowledged than the others. This would seem more in keeping with expectations (derived from the literature). White children, however, were also involved in similar interactions. This does not fit expectations.

Examining data related to Hispanics, one can see that some differences are evident. The Hispanics, on the whole, interacted much less; only 16 percent of all incidents included them. A major factor involved is probably language. When a Hispanic child was interacting with the teacher, it was often one who those had an excellent command of English. Several other times when the teacher called on

a Spanish-speaker who had less knowledge of English, the child was lost or did not answer. It seems reasonable to assume that students with less commend of English would also volunteer less and talk less with other students (most of whom spoke English). This explanation, however, is incomplete Other factors must intervene since only two of the seven Hispanics had weak English skills. Literature reviewed did not provide adequate clues (as to typical Hispanic behavior) to understand the situation. It might be useful to explore differences among various Hispanic groups. (Most of those in the class were Puerto Rican. One's family, though, was originally from Guatemala.) Further understanding of how Hispanics interact in a classroom must take these differences into account.

3. Do students who do not share the dominant school culture have a more negative attitude about their class than students whose home culture is similar to that of the teacher and majority students? In this case, they do not. Contrary to what the literature suggests, students in this class all had similar opinions about the class. (It is interesting to note, however, that their mean scores were relatively low--much lower than scores of students in the pilot studies.) The only area where a significant difference was found was "Teacher Support." This is the area that reflected how much students felt the teacher helped, trusted, was interested in, and was friendly towards

them. In this section, Black children's scores were lower than the other two groups. It is difficult, from this study, to determine why this should be so. The teacher did not pick on students; he interacted with children from different cultures in similar ways. In addition, the different reactions observed do not adequately account for the differences in the scores for this area. One possible part of the explanation may come from the distinction the teacher made concerning "bad" students.

"Bad" students were those who needed to be disciplined more often and who the teacher felt could not participate in classroom activities as well as others. This distinction was not culturally defined: of the seven most noticeably "bad" students, three were Black, three were White, and one was Hispanic. The criteria for defining "bad" seemed to involve how well students followed the rules, most of which were established by the teacher, not how well they performed during the lessons. (In this project, the researcher could not judge how closely achievement and discipline were related since no tests or achievement information was collected.) The division of the class was not between "good" and "bad" students since those not classified as "bad" were not necessarily good enough of the time to be considered "good" students. Rather, they followed the classroom rules most of the time and were not frequently or consistently disciplined.

The effects of the "bad" student distinction seemed important in various aspects of classroom activities. First, "bad" students were seated apart. Referring back to Figure 1, note that some desks are not in the main two rows; those around the teacher's desk or apart were the desks of "bad" students. Second, the teacher almost always called students by their first names. Several times, though, he used someone's last name--inevitably this occurred with a "bad" student. Third, only "good" students were allowed to engage in some activities. For example, on Wednesday morning, six students went to the computer room to work with a special teacher for a half hour. Those who went were chosen because they had been "good"; that is, they had been quietly working on assigned tasks and not causing trouble. This process invariably eliminated the seven "bad" students as choices. To emphasize that this distinction was not according to culture, on the Wednesday during this study, the six children who went to the computer room included two Blacks, two Whites, and two Hispanics.

Another factor that might explain the similarities between groups in this class would be socio-economic status (SES), No SES information was collected in this study, however, if it were analyzed, I expect that the SES would be similar for all students. Could it be that parallels in socio-economic conditions are more central in understanding student behavior than their culture? Perhaps middle class

Black and middle class Whites have more in common than middle class Blacks and working class Blacks, or middle class Whites and working class Whites. This would probably hold for Hispanics as well, although the question of language could greatly influence their characteristics and interactions.

Suggested Modifications of Instruments

If this study were to be replicated, several modifications should be considered. Although the student opinion survey was modified to eliminate double negatives, some students again seemed unsure how to interpret the statements which were still negative. For example, one statement was originally: "Our teacher doesn't trust us." To respond positively, the students had to mark "no". With modification the statement became "Our teacher distrusts us." While this one seemed clearer, some students circled one answer and then went back and changed their answers. These changes may mean that they still had problems understanding exactly what the statement meant. The survey statements were designed to have an even number of positive and negative items. Given the difficulty of wording some of the negative statements so that third-graders could easily understand them, it may have been better to allow a larger percentage of positive items. Another possible modification would be to make some or all of the statements questions

which are neither positive or negative. For instance, the above example would have been much clearer if it had been: "Does your teacher trust the students in this class?" Consequently, each negative survey statement should be reexamined, modified if necessary, and retested.

In some of the other survey statements and interview questions, the wording also needs to be examined. For example, the vast majority of students answered "yes" for "We have to watch what we say in this class." While I interpret these answers as negative ones, my feeling at the time of administration was that these answers were not necessarily negative in the children's minds. Unfortunately, the interview did not include a question of this nature which would have clarified their understanding of the sentence. While the meaning seemed clear to adults who read it before the survey, the children seemed to have some other interpretation(s). Other words that caused slight misunderstanding were "class" and "jag". During an interview it was clear that one of the Hispanic children interpreted "class" to mean the students in the room and not the more general meaning (including people, activities, and interactions) that the interviewer had intended. The word "jag", in the area where the pilot was conducted, can mean "pick on". In the area where the actual study occurred, this was not true. The children

still understood the question or statement since both "pick on" and "jag" were used, but a check for local vocabulary differences would eliminate potential problems.

Conclusions

The mixed results of this study are somewhat difficult to interpret. The literature suggested that observed differences in cultures would be reflected in varying student's opinions. The observations did reveal some differences among cultures. The survey of opinion detected a slight difference in student opinion about the class. However, the same group was not distinct in both parts. Hispanic children interacted differently in class activities and Black children had more negative opinions of their teacher's support.

Although the sample in this case study was small, the results raise some questions that could well be explored through further investigation.

1. If this study were replicated in other classes and in other areas, would similar results be found? In other words, to what extent are the types of interactions and behaviors of this third-grade class representative of other third-grade classes in rural, suburban, and urban settings? To what extent would grade level affect the data collected? In addition, do all Hispanics (Puerto Rican, Chicano, Central American, and others), Blacks, or Whites interact

similarly? It may be that regional and/or other background factors may influence students' classroom behavior.

2. How much does the teacher's attitude, expressed both verbally and nonverbally, affect the findings? In this study, I did not notice any overt attitude differences. Nevertheless, it is possible that the affects of continued interactions between the teacher and students (starting in September and going through the school year) might be more visible. Perhaps similar studies could be carried out early and late in the school year (in the same class) to compare initial and later impressions of the teacher, students, and the observer. The fact that the mean positive scores for the observed class were substantially lower than those in the pilot studies may also prove to be an important factor to consider. Might it be that classrooms with positive atmospheres (as judged by the students) somehow affect the attitudes of minority groups? If teachers, by allowing for individual differences, by organizing and planning, or by other methods, create positive climate, maybe they also allow for cultural differences, inadvertently or expressly, thereby making minority students feel more positively about the class.

3. What would be a more effective way to examine the nonverbal component of teacher-student interactions? An alternative method to study nonverbal communication is through the use of video-tape equipment. If that is not

feasible, perhaps a greater number of observations could be done from various positions in the room. This is a sensitive and difficult area to study. It is possible that observers from different cultural backgrounds should be used to correct for observer bias which might result from the observer's reading nonverbal cues according to his/her own cultural viewpoint.

4. How does socio-economic level and background influence student behavior? Socio-economic factors are often discussed in relation to problems or conditions in many fields, including education. Direct study of various socio-economic levels, which provides evidence from classroom settings, is necessary since these factors may be vital in understanding classroom behavior. However, access to socio-economic information is not always possible; this area is probably even more difficult to study than nonverbal communication.

5. It is possible that, by third grade, children have already established "school behavior" which is different from their home (culture-based) behavior? Many people believe children are adaptable and learn easily. It is not unlikely, then, that they can develop behavior which fits school expectations. They may unconsciously adapt home behavior, using the resulting school behavior during the day and reverting to home cultural behavior with their family. The question remains: how soon are different behaviors

noticeable? An examination of classroom behavior in all of the primary grades might help identity the extent to which different students develop and use various types of behaviors. In addition a more in-depth study of children in one class could include observations in homes to look for different types of behavior at home and at school.

In summary, studies similar to this one, or those extended to examine other related variables, would be valuable in the search for more complete understanding of teacher-student interactions and the factors that influence them. This research project, then, has been useful in opening an area for further consideration. It raises some questions about the validity of assumptions made about how culture affects classroom communication. Done as a case study, the project has limited generalizability, although it may provide a basis upon which other work can be undertaken.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See, for example, the work done with Black English, summarized in Dillard (1972), DeStefano (1973), and Abrahams and Troike (1972), parts 3 and 5.

[2]Paralinguistics include such qualities as tone of voice, pitch, speed, range, dialects, and accents.

[3]Although this article specifically discusses Appalachians, it has broader implications; it argues that crime or misbehavior are often attributed to provery instead of to the culturally different behavior.

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APPENDIX A

Observation Record Sheet

Date:_____ Subject_____ Time_____

Whole Class_____Small Group_____ Individual _____
Number of Students involved:
_____Black_____White_____Hispanic_____All
Raised hands Called Out Teacher Called On

_____ _____ _____

Context:
Action/Reaction sequence: Verbal/Nonverbal
Teacher Student

Whole Class _____Small Group_____ Individual_____
Number of Students involved:
_____Black_ _____White _____Hispanic_____All
Raised hands Called Out Teacher Called On
_____ _____ _____
Context:

Action/Reaction sequence: Verbal/Nonverbal
Teacher Student

APPENDIX B

Possible Types of Communication*

Student and Teacher Nonverbal Comunication			
Type	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Tone of voice	accepting, posivive	none	sarcastic, negative
Pitch	soft, medium	low	loud
Body Tension	relaxed		tense
Expression	smiling, accepting		frown, smirk
Eye Contract	attempts eye contact, "smile in eyes" approving	**meets contact, looks down	glaring, stem looks, anger, disgust
Physical contact	shaking hands, pat on back	**hugging	slapping, pushing, pinching, hitting, restraining
Head nodding	encouraging to continue		disagreement

* This list was developed after consulting Brophy and Good (1970), Harvey (1980), Lietz and Gregory (1978), Puckett (1928), Roberson (1967), Stukat and Engstrom (1967), and Townsend and Zamora (1975).

** These may be either positive or negative depending on the situation and those involved.

APPENDIX B (Cont'd)

	Verbal Communication		
Teacher	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Teacher	praises	no response	criticizes
	repeats answer	**ignores	rejects answer
	supports	**names	disapproves
	is helpful	student (or	warns or threatens
		other wise singles	scolds
		out 1 student)	reminds of rule send student out of room
Student	accepts	no response	rejects/disobeys
	complies	**stays in	does not comply
	appropriate S-S	seat, talks	inappropriate S-S
	interaction	to self or others	interaction
	On-taks behavior: writes follows direction listens reads answers		Off-task behavior: plays responds to internal simuli (drums fingers, hums, etc.) physically withdraws/avoids disturbs others by_____ makes noise, is distructive

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APPENDIX C

SURVEY OF STUDENT OPINION*

Directions to be read: I would like to know more about your class and how you think students feel about it. I'm going to read you some sentences. Some will be true about your class--some won't. On the paper in front of you, please circle "yes" if the statement I read is true--if it describes your class. Circle "no" if it is not true about what happens in this class. Don't put your names on these.

Example: (find it on your sheet) Our teacher is a man. If your teacher is a man, circle "yes". If the teacher is not a man, circle "no". (I will check to see which they circled.) Any questions? O.K.

1. Most of us take part in class discussions or activities.
2. We work hard in this class.
3. Lots of people are bored in this class.
4. Most of us really pay attention to what the teacher is saying.
5. Our teacher doesn't take time to talk with us.
6. No one enjoys this class.

*Adapted from Moos (1978).

7. The teacher picks on or jags some students in this class.
8. If we don't know the right answer, the teacher sometimes makes us feel bad.
9. We help each other with homework.
10. Some kids in this class dislike each other.
11. In this class, some kids jag or pick on others.
12. Some people daydream a lot in class.
13. Our teacher goes out of his/her way to help us.
14. A lot of people "doodle" or play during class.
15. It's easy to get a group together for a project.
16. Some people in this class work better alone (than in a group).
17. Kids in this class don't want to play or work with each other.
18. If we want to talk about something, our teacher will listen.
19. Our teacher is more like a friend than a teacher.
20. Our teacher distrusts us.
21. Our teacher likes to know things about us.
22. It's hard to find time to make friends in this class.
23. We like to work together on projects in this class.
24. After we do work we sometimes show it to the class.
25. Many of the kids in this class are friends.
26. Many kids in this class can hardly wait for lessons to be over.

27. Our teacher likes to know what we want to learn.
28. We have to watch what we say in this class.
29. Some people choose to do extra work for this class.
30. In this class we know each other well.

Subscale description

Involvement: The extent to which students are attentive and interested in class activities and participate in discussion.

Positive items: 1,2,4,24,29 Negative items: 3,6,12,14,26

Affiliation: Student friendship and the extent to which students help each other and enjoy working together.

Positive items: 9,15,23,25,30 Negative items: 10,11,16,17,22

Teacher Support: Help, interest, trust, and friendship the teacher shows toward students.

Positive items: 13,18,19,21,27 Negative items: 5,7,8,20,28

Survey Answer Sheet

If the sentence you hear is true about this class, circle "yes." If it is false (not true), circle "no."

Example: YES NO

1.	YES	NO	16.	YES	NO
2.	YES	NO	17.	YES	NO
3.	YES	NO	18.	YES	NO
4.	YES	NO	19.	YES	NO
5.	YES	NO	20.	YES	NO
6.	YES	NO	21.	YES	NO
7.	YES	NO	22.	YES	NO
8.	YES	NO	23.	YES	NO
9.	YES	NO	24.	YES	NO
10.	YES	NO	25.	YES	NO
11.	YES	NO	26.	YES	NO
12.	YES	NO	27.	YES	NO
13.	YES	NO	28.	YES	NO
14.	YES	NO	29.	YES	NO
15.	YES	NO	30.	YES	NO

APPENDIX D

STUDENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Involvement

How do you like this class? What do you like most? least?

Do people in this class work hard? What would be an example?

What do kids do when they are not paying attention? Do many kids do these things?

During a lesson, does everybody answer questions?

Are some students afraid to answer? Why?

Affiliation

Is your best friend in this class?

Are a lot of these kids your friends?

Are most kids friendly with each other? Do they fight much? Tell me what they do to show they're friends.

Do many kids jag each other? How? (Please give some examples.) Are those who jag usually the same people? Do they pick on the same people?

Is it easy to work in groups in this class? Why or why not?

Teacher Support

Does the teacher like most students in this class? How do you know? (What would be some examples?)

Does the teacher trust the class? Please give an example.

Does s/he pick on some kids? How? Is it always the same ones?

How does the teacher act is somebody gives the wrong answer? Does s/he get mad?

Is your teacher strict? Explain.

APPENDIX E

TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Introduction: Small talk about the weather, some bulletin board in the room, or anything else which puts the teacher at ease.

Formal Interview: What two or three techniques do you commonly use to maintain a positive learning atmosphere?

What different reactions do you notice students have to these techniques? Please give examples.

Four or five incidents, involving students from different cultures, will be identified from the observation record sheets. (More than five will be chosen initially so that those incidents that the teacher does not remember can be eliminated.) For each of these incidents, the following process/questions will be used:

> Identification of the incident in some detail so that the interviewer and the teacher are thinking on the same one.

Why did you react/discipline this child? (In what context? For what reason?)

Did s/he react as you expected?

How did (do) you interpret this reaction (positive, negative, respectful, defiant, etc.)? Please explain why.

Is this type of reaction typical for this child?

How did you feel after the incident?

Follow-up: Explanation of the project in more detail; time for questions the teacher might have about the project; and presentation of some preliminary results.

APPENDIX F

Behaviors that Initiated Incidents

Type of Incident	Black	White	Hispanic	All	Mixed	Total
Related to Hand-raiding:						
Raised Hand	80	53	25	--	--	158
Call-Out Acknowledged	42	22	11	--	--	75
Call-Out Disciplined	6	6	--	6	1	18
T calls on S	1	6	3	--	--	10
S approaches T desk	3	2	1	--	--	6
Hand, disciplined	1	--	--	--	--	1
S leaving room	1	--	--	--	--	1
Rule reminder	--	--	--	1	--	1
Subtotal	134	89	40	7	1	271
Related to Keeping Silence						
Ss talking/noisy	6	4	--	6	3	19
Total	140	93	40	13	4	290

APPENDIX G

Average Number of Incidents per Student by Culture

Type of Incidents	Black	White	Hispanic
Interactions	2	2.6	.6
Hands Raised	8.9	7.6	3.6
Call Outs	4.7	3.1	1.2
Total			
Total	15.6	13.3	5.7

APPENDIX H

Student Reactions*

Type of Reaction	Black	White	Hispanic	All	Mixed	Total
Obeyed	14	16	3	6	3	42
No Reaction	2	--	--	4	--	6
Obeyed in part	--	1	--	3	1	5
Looked unhappy	3	1	--	--	--	4
Looked confused	--	3	1	--	--	4
Looked resigned	2	1	--	--	--	3
Asked a Q (Longer interaction)	4	--	--	--	--	4
Total	25	22	4	13	4	68

* For some incidents the student had more than one reaction; these were counted separately.